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THE PRE-PERICLEAN PROPYLON OF THE
ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS¹

[PLATES I-VI]

THE problem to be considered in the following pages is the structure of the early gateway to the Acropolis at Athens. The ruins of this building are mostly covered or replaced by the splendid Propylaea of Mnesicles; yet enough survives, I believe, to permit a reconstruction of the principal features of the building. The problems as to the early approach to the Acropolis, together with the Pelargicon and other walls, will be touched upon only as is necessary for an understanding of the Propylon itself.

It is, unfortunately, difficult to obtain accurate accounts of the earlier excavations conducted on the Acropolis. In the case of the Propylon the only contemporary evidence as to the first excavation is that published by Ross in the *Tübinger Kunstblatt* and reprinted in his *Archäologische Aufsätze* in 1855. From his account we learn that the principal portion of the Propylon was laid bare in 1840, in course of excavations made about the Propylaea. At that time, in fact, the three extant portions were uncovered, with the exception of the small part cleared by the writer of this paper in the summer of 1901.

For the study of the early building we are dependent almost entirely upon the drawings made by Bohn, and published in

¹ For convenience of reference the gateway here discussed is in this article uniformly called the Propylon, while the Mnesiclean structure is called the Propylaea. A possible ancient precedent for this nomenclature will be found on p. 66.

1882 in his elaborate work on the Propylaea. It was while examining some of his measurements that the need of the present study was appreciated. One does not require an exhaustive test of Bohn's figures, at least in reference to the older gateway, in order to discover that they are in some instances inexact. In fact, some of the measurements of the Mnesiclean building are none too accurate, and would not warrant the drawing of minute deductions from them. In the case of the Propylon, Bohn seems to have erred sometimes through measuring at the level of the eye or at some chance level. For example, he gives different measurements for the inner and the outer faces of the marble anta, which will be described later (p. 40), while as a matter of fact the anta has the same dimensions on either face, but gradually tapers from the bottom to the top. In other cases he has approximated measurements, while some parts of the structure were then still under ground, the work of excavation, as will be seen, not having been completed. A detailed study of the ruin on the basis of Bohn's drawings was impossible, and a new set of drawings had to be prepared. The irregularities and occasional displacement of some of the stones, together with the narrow space available for working, make it difficult to secure absolute accuracy. The figures here published, however, have been repeatedly verified, and are, I believe, in essential points as exact as the condition of the remains permits.

Three main portions of the Propylon are extant, and now completely uncovered. These are, naming them in order from north to south, (1) certain cuttings in the rock in the great central doorway of the Propylaea (A in PLATE I); (2) a series of truncated marble steps, part of an inner side wall, a *parastas*¹ of *poros* blocks with marble anta, a section of the floor, rock-cut steps and a tripod base which belong to a wing,—all these being in the corner behind the southwest wing of the Propylaea (B in PLATE I); (3) steps and a corner

¹ The term *parastas* is here used to designate the wall of *poros* between the side wall and the anta proper.

continuing the wing of the Propylon, and situated south of the southwest wing of the Propylaea (C in PLATE I).

The second portion mentioned — the anta, steps, walls, etc., in the corner behind the southwest wing of the Propylaea — is the largest section of the ruins. The description of this region may properly be prefaced by the mention of the slight excavation which I made here in the summer of 1901. Desiring to make my measurements more complete, I obtained permission, through the kindness of Mr. Kabbadias, to clear the site, with particular reference to removing the earth and rubbish which had accumulated nearly to the level of the top of the stylobate beneath the anta and had rendered it partially inaccessible. Mr. Philios, the Ephor of the Acropolis, gave me much assistance, appointing some of the regular laborers of the Acropolis to aid in the work.

The appearance of the soil and the presence of iron mortar-shells were manifest proofs of the recent date of the upper layers of the earth removed. Below these, however, the soil manifestly had been in place since the time of the erection of the Propylaea, and, in fact, consisted largely of flakes from the marble of that building. In this earth were a few unimportant potsherds and some bits of lead and iron. The excavation proved, however, to be important in uncovering parts of the Propylon which had been hidden, restoring to us two fine marble steps under the stylobate of the anta, several rock-hewn steps below the tripod-base, a slab of the Propylon's floor (noted by Bohn, but in a wrong position), the lead-lined socket of an inscription or herm, and some minor details. I shall, therefore, first describe this portion as now revealed (Fig. 2), and speak more fully of the new parts as they are met.

The form of the ruins of this second portion of the Propylon may be seen from PLATES II and III and from Figs. 1 and 2. The greater part of them has been repeatedly described, and is familiar. It is worth while, however, to go over the ground again, in order to emphasize certain new relations. These remains constitute the corner of the Propylon, and consist of

part of the side wall, an anta with its parastas resting on the marble steps (Fig. 1), and a series of other steps cut in the native rock and forming an obtuse angle to the front of the structure. In this order I shall briefly describe them.

The portion of side wall which forms an angle of about 23° with the axis of the Propylaea is composed of white marble blocks, of irregular back-line and smooth face, resting imme-

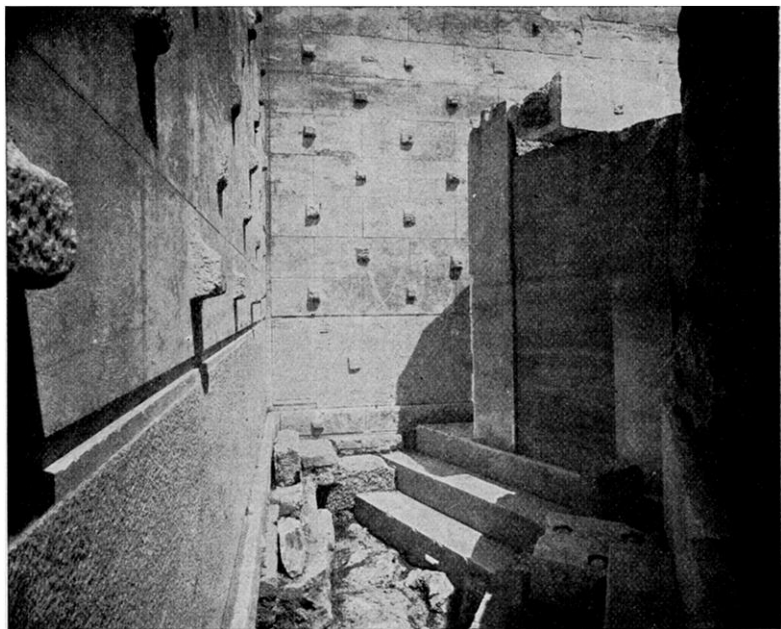


FIGURE 1.—EXTANT CORNER OF THE PROPYLON BEHIND THE SOUTHWEST WING OF THE PROPYLAEA.

diately on the rock of the Acropolis, and backed by blocks of *poros*. The drawings show clearly the form and size of these stones. The total height of the extant wall throughout most of its extent is 1.76 m.; the total length, 4.65 m., inside measurement. At the eastern end one of the under strata of marble is made to project from the front plane of the wall to form a seat (H in PLATE II). The *poros* backing is of large rough-hewn blocks, not cramped together. The marble part is also

uncramped. Probably the weight of the great "Pelasgian" wall, which then was longer and higher than now, crowded against the backing so as to hold it in place. The tops of these blocks, both marble and *poros*, are in a single plane, and must have been carried higher by some other material, — wood or stone. How this superstructure began is indicated at the western end, where the wall is higher. At this point the backing is surmounted by a second, and even a part of a third, block of *poros*. Of these the second, whose face is 0.38 m. back of the front face of the wall, is cut under along its anterior surface, and leaves a recess, 0.18 m. deep and 0.10 m. high, for the reception of a thin marble plate, of which a small piece remains *in situ* (K in PLATE II). This fragment is 0.56 m. long, 0.18 m. wide, and 0.08 m. thick. It extends under the *poros* 0.18 m., and is flush in front with the face of the wall.¹ In the upper surface this plate is mortised to a depth of about 0.02 m. The mortise is 0.22 m. wide, and in the centre of the exposed portion, 0.08 m. from the front. The extent of the mortise toward the east is indeterminable, since the plate is broken. It seems likely, however, that the slab, as well as the wall, ran entirely across the side of the building. What material rested upon this plate we can only conjecture: not squared blocks, for in that case iron cramps, not mortises, would have been employed; scarcely even marble plaques, for neither is such veneering used in buildings of this period, nor are plaques, either, fastened in such a manner; not stone or brick, for the double reason that such material is not employed above marble, and because the thin marble slab would not be needed to support stuccoed courses. Wood appears to be the only substance left to be considered, and this may have been used. The side walls then would have consisted of the marble orthostates, with the seat in front of it, backed by a *poros* wall; upon this a wooden facing, also backed by a *poros* wall. The

¹ It is shown in the photograph (Fig. 2) made for me, since my return from Athens, by Rhomaïdes, but it has evidently suffered some displacement, and is now thrust forward a little.

poros in the extant portion is of very rough-hewn blocks, presumably, as has been noted, because the "Pelasgian" wall came against it. In the eastern part of the wall, where visible (from behind), the *poros* was, no doubt, more carefully wrought.

The lowest block at this western end of the wall is cut down at its bottom to a thin slab, which forms a part of the floor of the Propylon, its upper surface being flush with the loose slab of flooring still *in situ*. It bears some cuttings not readily explained, the chief of which is a rectangular depression, 0.34 m. by 0.18 m., apparently for the reception of the base of some statue, relief, or inscription. Nearly above this is a shallower depression, in the face of the side wall, 0.34 m. long by 0.32 m. wide. These two depressions do not, however, coincide, and can scarcely have belonged together. The lower edge of the cavity in the side wall is on the level with the upper surface of the seat mentioned above as projecting from one of the lower strata of the wall, and probably marks the site of some base which, at some later period, rested on a prolongation of this seat, the depression first mentioned having then passed out of use. From the length of the cuttings it appears that the base in question was at this later time set upon the seat, nearly above its former position.

At right angles to the western end of this wall and projecting toward the northwest is the parastas mentioned above (B in PLATE II), consisting of a well-finished wall of smooth blocks of *poros* terminating in a square anta of marble. This rests on the topmost of three marble steps which ran across the front of the building. The parastas does not spring directly from the side wall, which, on the contrary, is bevelled back for a length of 0.18 m., as can be seen in the drawings (PLATES II and III; see also p. 67). The hollow thus resulting at the irregular junction was filled with a fine stucco, so that the surface was made even with that of the side wall. In one or two places this stucco still remains.

Of the stylobate and two steps below it (D, E, and F in PLATE II) — all of which rest for the most part on the rock —

it has already been said that the lower step was first uncovered by the recent removal of earth. Very probably the earlier excavators dug only at the end nearest the tripod base, found there a smoothed area of native rock,—for this step is skilfully joined to a corresponding step in the rock,—and assumed that the bottom had been reached. The bottom step, however, has really the largest rise (0.40 m.) of the three, and itself has its bed on the rock. One of the lifting bosses—at the gravitational, not the geometrical centre—has not been hewn off, the rock below it being also, for some reason, left unsmoothed.

The upper step or stylobate proper is 1.175 m. in width, having a wide space (0.35 m.) behind (east of) the anta. When the accumulated earth was removed from here it was found that the corner of the stylobate at the inner angle was bevelled to match the bevel outside the parastas. Close up against the back side of the parastas was found, also, a socket evidently intended for some sort of a base (J in PLATE II). It is 0.33 m. by 0.21 m. inside, and about 0.02 m. deep. Upon the bottom and around the edges is a complete lining of the lead with which the base was fastened. What stood here one can merely conjecture. It can hardly have been a free statue, the socket being too near the wall. It may, then, have been an inscription or a herm. The hypothesis that it was a Hermes Propylaeus is tempting. As an inscription, however, it would be easily connected with the unknown articles which hung on the series of hooks inserted in the wall just above it (p. 65).

East of the stylobate, and with one end resting *in situ* on a ledge left on the stylobate for the purpose, is the only remaining portion of the floor (G in PLATE II), a fine, rectangular slab, 1.215 m. by 0.90 m., and 0.14 m. thick. Its eastern end rests partly on the rock and partly on artificial support. For some reason the workmen employed on the Propylaea left this solitary slab of the floor unbroken, a fact the more worthy of note when one sees how they cut away a part of the contiguous stone in the foundation of the new structure to receive the corner of this piece of floor. Even though the *poros* of the foundation is

easier to work, the sparing of the marble is yet interesting, inasmuch as a single blow of the hammer would have cleared the way for the new foundation quite as well. In one other place, too (cf. p. 43), similar treatment is seen, there, however, because the marble was harder to work.

The parastas proper is composed of five rectangular blocks of *poros*, rising one above the other upon the stylobate, and fronted by two vertical blocks of marble which form the anta. The *poros* blocks are smoothed and covered with a stucco which will be considered later. Each of the upper four blocks has a "Werkzoll," which seems here to have been meant for ornamental purposes and not for removal. At all events the stones are in general carefully worked, yet the "Werkzoll" is lacking only on the lowest, where its absence would not be noticed. On the outside, where the length is greater, the blocks are pieced out with smaller blocks of *poros* and a vertical slab of marble (see Fig. 1).

The marble anta, 3.515 m. high, and consisting of two pieces, the upper one now thrust forward a little, is not smoothly finished but slightly roughened as for the reception of stucco or color, traces of which remain. The margins are smoothed on the same plane as the remaining surface (see Fig. 2). None of these blocks appear to have been cramped together. The outward thrust of the upper block of the anta shows that there is no bond between. The top surface of this upper block has two deep holes for the insertion of lifting irons or lewis of the shears type. The detailed measurements of these members are given on the plans, and need not be repeated here.

Just outside, that is west, of the parastas, and joined to it at an angle of about 122°, is the old southwest wing, built close up against the ancient "Pelasgian" wall. The parts now extant are the rock steps, the marble seat and its backing, and the tripod base (L in PLATE II). Of these steps—hewn from the living rock, except for a small block which is inserted just in front of the tripod base—the lower had not been uncovered hitherto. The irregular margin at the southwest of the tripod

base is given in Bohn's drawing as the boundary, which in reality is a true curve, as the plan in PLATE II reveals. But below this is a wider step, and just at the edge of the Propylaea's foundation are evidences of still another (P at the side of PLATE II), which is immediately lost under the Propylaea. On the wide upper step rests the marble seat (M in PLATE II) which corresponds in position and dimensions to the seat pro-

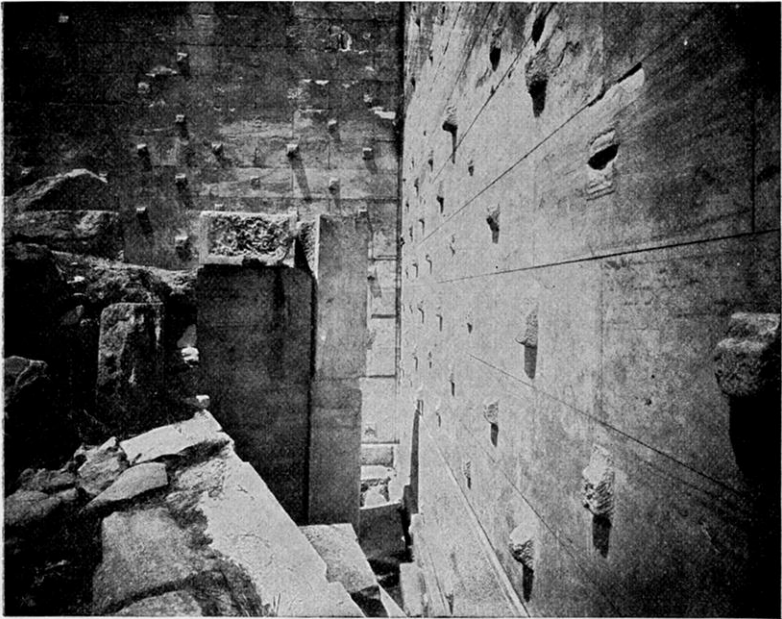


FIGURE 2.—EXTANT CORNER OF THE PROPYLON VIEWED FROM THE EAST.

jecting from the side of the Propylon as above described. Somewhat similarly to their treatment of the floor slab, the workmen preferred or found it more convenient to remove rather than to break the longer block (1.94 m. in length), — whose position is indicated on the plans with dotted lines in what was doubtless its original place, — and this now lies where they placed it, upon the shorter block (1.665 m.), which is *in situ*. In Bohn's plan this condition is overlooked and the longer block is treated as if *in situ*.

The inner end of the step just mentioned is placed against the well-known tripod base, of which a drawing on a larger scale is given in the corner of PLATE II. This base is discussed in some detail in the *Jahrbuch des Instituts* (I, p. 187) by Fabricius, whose inferences are undoubtedly correct (though he is slightly in error in some of the measurements). The lower block in this base is of *poros*, upon which is firmly fixed by socket and lead bonding the somewhat smaller marble blocks. Fabricius has shown that the tripod which rested on this base had a central column or pillar, whose bottom diameter is indicated by the roughened surface between the sockets for the feet. The tripod when removed was apparently wrenched from its fastening. The marble was broken in the effort, and pieces of the bronze rims remain, embedded in lead in the sockets. The distances between the centres of the sockets (0.42 m. to 0.43 m.) show the original spread of the tripod's legs.

Behind both base and step rises what remains of a marble backing, consisting of three thin slabs (circ. 0.10 m. thick), 1.31 m. high, and from 1.23 m. to 1.01 m. long.¹ These are held in place by fragments of stone and by earth thrown in between them and the great wall, and in front by the pressure of the base and step. No bonding of any sort is used. These slabs were continued in the part now destroyed, as we shall see also from other evidence. Between the inner slab and the parastas is an open space of 0.46 m., which, if filled at all, must have been filled by some other material. Whether or not a higher facing was built above these slabs, is a difficult question to answer. Neither in the slabs nor in the great wall are any cuttings for the reception of cramps by which a higher row of slabs could have been fastened. The top edges of the slabs, while uniform in height, are smooth and worked as if for junction with a second stratum, except for the needed cramp marks (see

¹ I am informed that the opinion has been advanced *viva voce* that these slabs were originally metopes of the "old Athena temple"; how the irregular widths (cf. p. 47) are explained I do not know. Besides, according to Penrose (*Principles of Athenian Architecture*, pl. 49), the metopes of the old temple inserted in the northern wall of the Acropolis are 4.4 feet (= 1.34 m.) in height.

Fig. 1). Yet the massive stones in the great wall in the part just over the first two slabs are thrust forward so as to project slightly beyond the face of the slabs. This thrust is not visible in the stones of the wall lying immediately upon those in question, or in the stones behind the parastas. Consequently, one is forced to think that the origin of the thrust is anterior to the time of the Propylon. But for its irregularities one might be inclined to see in it something like the familiar advancing angle of the walls of Troy, Gla, etc. At all events, this thrust seems to render unlikely the supposition that there was a marble superstructure to this portion of the marble backing. If any superstructure existed, it probably was of wood. More likely, however, there was none at all other than perhaps a moulding, the wall above this being open to view.

It has already been observed that the new Propylaea cut into this wing of the old Propylon. The southern limits are, however, determinable. In 1840, when the anta-corner was uncovered, excavations were also conducted in the angle between the "Pelasgian" wall and the southern wall of the southwest wing of the Propylaea (see Ross, *op. cit.* p. 78). At this point was discovered the third important section of the ruins — more important, perhaps, than has been realized (PLATE V). The rock-hewn steps which we found beneath the tripod base and running toward this corner ceased at some point under the wall of the Propylaea. Where the steps emerge south of this wall they are constructed of well-fitted blocks of *poros*, which continue in the same line for nearly three metres and then turn west in a right angle. The top step serves for the base or stylobate of a marble seat of the same style and dimensions as that adjoining the tripod base and resting on the highest rock-hewn step. One would expect, therefore, these steps and seats to be identical in elevation, and the outer or southern to be a continuation of the inner. Since the high wing of the Propylaea intervenes between the two, it is very difficult to determine by the rod their relative elevation. If we measure from the edge of the *euthynterion* of the Propy-

laea, an unexpected discrepancy is discovered. Instead of being on the same level, the upper surface of the *poros* step of the southern end of the wing is about 0.35 m. higher than the surface of the rock-hewn step inside, though the two are in the same horizontal direction. This was noticed by Bohn (whose figures are, however, again inaccurate); a dotted line which he draws from the surface of this *poros* step passes, when prolonged, above the upper surface of the tripod base (cf. PLATE IV). I pursued at first the same method of measurement, which assumes, of course, that the *euthynterion* preserves the same level on the two adjacent sides of the wing of the Propylaea. Desiring to test my figures, however, I made a series of levellings with an instrument, and discovered to my surprise that the seats and their stylobates are, after all, in the same plane and that the one is really a continuation of the other. This is gratifying so far as the Propylon is concerned, but reveals an extraordinary condition in the Mnesiclean structure, whose *euthynterion* on the east side of the southwest wing is about 0.35 m. higher than that of the south side. The reason for this is probably purely local, as it does not occur at the corresponding corner of the northwest wing. From an examination of PLATE II it will be seen that the *euthynterion* on the east side of the southwest wing of the Propylaea does not extend entirely to the corner, but stops 0.42 m. short of it. For this brief distance there is no *euthynterion*, and the *orthostates* is lengthened to take its place. The drawing of PLATE IV has been made to correspond to the elevations as now determined.

From this drawing, too, it will be seen that the first three *poros* blocks of the top step just considered are not of the full thickness of the step, but are cut diagonally at bottom and fit upon the hewn rock, which thus forms part of the inner face of the step. In each of the two steps below this, the rock forms an essential part, as the plan will make clear. That is to say, the whole was cut from the rock so far as possible, the *poros* being only used to fill in. The height of the upper step (0.30 m.) is the same as that of the corresponding rock-hewn step under

the tripod base. The second step is 0.72 m. wide along the back and 0.29 m. wide on the side, being mostly of *poros*. In height this (0.33 m.) does not correspond with the step of which it is the prolongation (0.26 m.). In Bohn's drawings no third step is represented, but the second is supposed to rest directly on the rock. Again, the first removal of the earth was somewhat carelessly done. The soil which had accumulated here was also removed in 1901, and the bottom surface cleaned. This process uncovered the lowest step, and made it clear that it is really a step and not a flooring, as it appears in Bohn's drawing. This third step was 0.77 m. wide at the back and 0.35 m. wide at the side toward the south. A triangle of four or five centimetres on a side is all that remains to prove its true character (Σ in PLATE V). Even this is left by the merest accident. It happens that one block of new foundation at this point retreats a trifle behind the rest. Had this block projected uniformly with its neighbors, all evidence would have been concealed. As it is, the case is clear. At this place there were three steps below the marble seat, not two, as below the tripod base. The steps are not all of the same height, but are governed by the contour of the rock. The discovery of the third step adds little to our general knowledge of the Propylon's wing, but is of some intrinsic interest. The greater width of all the steps along the back side only emphasizes the prominence that the back of the wing was meant to have over the branch toward the northwest.

Behind one block of the marble seat on the east side are the broken remains of one slab (1.25 m. in length; cf. p. 44 and note 1) of the continuation of the marble backing. It must have turned the corner behind the adjacent seat, and, as we shall soon see, extended a short distance only in the new direction.

This leads us to the investigation of the limits of this branch of the wing toward the northwest. It appears that the amount cut off by the new foundation is inconsiderable, and that the branch ceased originally about where it does to-day. The first reason for this belief is the consideration of the cramps. Of

these there are two, as shown in PLATE V, both being set in lead and of the \lrcorner shape, not \vdash , as indicated by Bohn, who saw but the larger one. These are the only cramps in this portion of the structure, a fact which raises the question why these blocks were cramped, and not others. The reason lies at hand — because these were the end blocks, and were in danger of being shoved from their places. The rock shelves off before reaching the end blocks, and these are upon a comparatively deep foundation. The cramps, then, were necessary to prevent displacement. Moreover, the larger of the blocks (B in PLATE V) is cut at an angle, and to it the smaller (S in PLATE V) is cramped. The explanation of the strange juncture is found only when we consider this as the actual limit of the branch. The small block which makes this obtuse angle with the stylobate points toward an advancing angle of the wall of the Acropolis (see PLATE I), but the wall here has been repaired so often that this fact may have no significance. The presence here of a heap of blocks of great weight from the Propylaea makes closer investigation of the spot at present impossible. A few markings are given here on Bohn's plan, No. II. If the axis of the small block be produced inwards, it comes close to the point of contact of the parastas and the "Pelagian" wall. I merely mention the facts here, without being able to suggest an explanation.

As remarked above, the marble backing of slabs ran behind this branch of the wing. From the surface cuttings in these last two blocks the outer limits of this backing are also learned. The cuttings (and cramp-marks) indicate that the backing extended to where the slightly depressed channel (0.17 m. wide) along the back of these stones ends, the marble seat probably terminating at the same point (see dotted line crossing larger cramp in PLATE V). Covering the remainder of the area of block B in PLATE V was probably a low anta of marble. This was close up to the end of the seat and perhaps of the height of the marble backing. The weight of this would give additional reason for making the stylobate as firm as pos-

sible by means of cramps. No evidence remains, so far as I can discover, to justify the belief that a roof covered this wing.

The significance of the cuttings in the rock in the large doorway of the present Propylaea was first appreciated by Ross after the discovery of the anta and side wall. From his words (*l.c.* p. 79) one infers that the work of clearing them was done in his presence, and that he was the first one to connect them with the anta. It is not easy to make a careful study of the marks, owing to their irregularities, the limited area accessible, and the extraneous material still covering part of them. During my stay in Athens this problem was yet further complicated because of the presence of the iron track on which marble was conveyed to the Acropolis for the repair of the Parthenon. The plan with section here given (PLATE VI) is accurate, I believe, so far as the conditions permit of accuracy. (The elevations given were made with a levelling instrument.) As these cuttings take an important place in the present investigation, I have tried to be especially careful in statement of fact.

From the plan it will be seen that the marks are not unsystematic and irregular, but that we can trace at least one or two distinct parallel lines running from the northwest to the southeast. These lines on Bohn's plans do not run quite parallel to the front line of the parastas and the supporting steps, but while direct examination of their relation is impossible, owing to the intervention of the Propylaea's walls, yet, after repeated measurement of the angles in various ways, I feel sure that the parallelism is complete, and that the cuttings were the site of a part of the Propylon. It is but a single step farther to determine that they indicate the boundary of the structure toward the east, since there are no marks beyond this point in that direction which can be connected with the building. It may also be inferred that we have here the site of some steps leading up to the higher level of the Acropolis. In the Propylaea the change of level is in the middle of the main megaron, while here it is under the eastern pediment. We shall find an interesting parallel to this in the Propylon at

Selinus, when we come to examine the similarities of that building to the one in question. But to return to the doorway. The short space now visible in this great doorway is all that is likely to be exposed for study. Even of this small portion the late watercourse, cut through the middle of the doorway, has destroyed a large share. At the outset, in studying this spot, it is clear that we have here only a levelling of the rock for some sort of a regular foundation. No exactness was attempted in constructing it, and we must be satisfied in finding approximate symmetry. The form of the cuttings is as follows: On a level with the floor of the Propylaea is a worked surface entirely in a horizontal plane, save along the north side (H in PLATE VI), where it rises four centimetres higher (note elevations in PLATE VI). Most of this surface has been made very smooth, as usual where the native rock has been prepared for a foundation. The higher and northern portion is rougher. At the back (C in PLATE VI) of most of this area the rock is 0.08 m. to 0.12 m. higher. The front outline of the step up is distinct (see Fig. 3), but its upper surface is uneven. At the north end, however, is a much higher step (D in PLATE VI), in general 0.22 m. above the lowest area and a trifle higher still on its front margin (0.245 m.). At one back corner of this step is a bit of another level (E in PLATE VI), and above this (F in PLATE VI), parallel with its front edge, is the highest step (0.58 m.), whose upper surface is also well smoothed. Of this highest step the water channel has broken away the centre. The southern end runs under the present building, while the northern end was hewn down when the new structure was building.

North of the step first mentioned is another cutting (G in PLATE VI) whose back line is parallel with the present Propylaea, and whose cramp-marks and sloping floor (0.31 m. to 0.26 m.) indicate with considerable certainty its later origin. Probably it comes from the time when a marble ramp was laid through the great doorway of the Propylaea. (These relations may also be studied in Fig. 3, from a photograph.)

It is not an easy matter to learn just what part of the Propylon occupied these cuttings. Yet, if they can be correctly understood, an important step in the restoration of the building will have been taken, namely, the determination of its original width. From the nature of the case it is evident that it must at least have been as wide as the distance from the rock cuttings in the doorway to the prolongation of the side wall. Ross made no attempt to formulate an hypothesis as to the width of the building, but expressed his opinion (*op. cit.* p. 79)

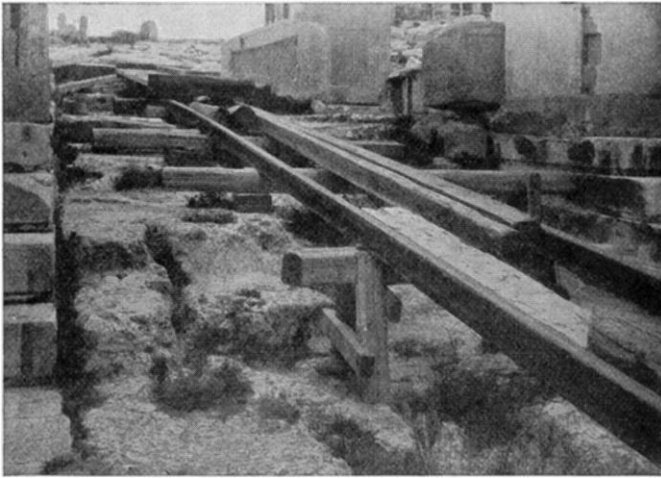


FIGURE 3. — CUTTINGS IN THE ROCK IN THE GREAT DOORWAY OF THE PROPYLAEA.

that the continuation of the cuttings would be discovered when excavation should be undertaken in the area east of the north-west wing of the Propylaea. As is now known, the actual excavation revealed nothing of the sort. The rock in the space in question proves much deeper than he thought, and the area is occupied by the large Roman cistern. These results aside, moreover, so great a width seems very improbable and not consistent with the structure of any other Greek propylaea, or even Greek building, that we know.

A more nearly correct theory, beginning with whom I have

been unable to make sure, has been incorporated in most recent drawings of the Propylaea. According to this view the step marked D in PLATE VI is apparently the site of the anta diagonally opposite the anta now extant. This would bring the corner of the Propylon a little farther to the north and under the Propylaea steps, the Propylon thus being almost square. This view, however, cannot be supported, I believe, by a study of the remains, though from Bohn's drawing it would seem entirely plausible.

The most likely location of the anta with its parastas and stylobate would seem to be the highest level in these cuttings as described above. The width of this level is 1.63 m., while that of the existing stylobate is but 1.18 m., so that the level in question appears at first thought too wide for the stylobate. But the two stylobates need not have had exactly the same width. It will be noted, moreover, that the first step below the existing stylobate is 0.45 m. wide. The step and the stylobate together, therefore, or a single slab of the same width, would occupy almost precisely the level in question, and thus the general effect would be preserved. (It may be added by way of illustration of what has just been said that the widths of the steps below the extant stylobate vary a little. Besides, it must be remembered that in the one case we are measuring the marble superstructure, in the other, the more or less roughly hewn seat for such a superstructure.) It will be safe, then, to place in our theory the anta and parastas at once on this higher level. If the place of the stylobate may be regarded as fixed, it is manifest that in the cuttings directly below must have been either a portion of the steps which effected the change of level or else the actual corner of the building, there having existed in the latter case no further prolongation of the structure to the north; that is, in the area now covered by the steps of the Propylaea. To determine which alternative is correct, we must return to a close study of the rock cuttings. Now, if there were steps across this space, it must at least be not impossible to trace the continuation of their bed north-

westward so far as the rock is visible. Of the highest level the northern limit cannot with certainty be established. From the drawing in PLATE VI it will be seen that it seems to have its continuation up to and perhaps under the steps of the Propylaea. As a matter of fact, however, it extends now no farther than these steps, which are set below this level, a close-fitting joint being made along the line of the steps. Why these were not put upon this level, if it continued farther, cannot be positively stated. From this surface, then, no certainty can be assured. Considering next the level immediately below this, we prolong the line at the back of step D,—that is, the front edge of the highest level,—and find that it runs at once into the uncut portion of the solid rock and can go no farther. Before the later cutting, G, was made, this phenomenon would have seemed even more marked. This line, therefore, must always have stopped at this place, while in the opposite direction it can be traced until it runs under the present steps. Of the line in front of D the same thing may be said. The front corner of G has been so much broken as to make the relation less certain, but if a rule be laid along the line, it becomes more than probable that it never ran beyond the present terminus. We find next that the line marked H in the plan and its continuation to the west mark the division between the smoothed floor and the higher and rougher surface just north. This marked change of level must, I believe, in connection with the limitations of the lines just mentioned, lead us to the conclusion that in the traces before us we have at hand an indication of the actual corner of the Propylon. The importance of this is evident. We see that the lines at the front and back of step D were not prolonged, because the building extended no farther, while the broken line H, and its westward continuation, together with the raised and rougher surface north of the line, which have no *raison d'être* if the floor of the Propylon continued farther to the north, find an adequate explanation if they be thought to mark the position of the side wall of the building. The higher and rougher

surface is thus seen to be the work of a later time; namely, the time when the floor of the Propylaea was made. In the period of the earlier structure the area north of the line was entirely unworked, only enough surface being hewn down to furnish a seat for the wall of the Propylon. It is, unfortunately, impossible at present to trace the line of the side wall farther toward the west. The rock in this region is covered with blocks of the later ramp. I believe that we have enough evidence, however, to make sure the position of the side wall, and I have, therefore, indicated it on the plan. If we know the location of the side wall, we obviously have the means of figuring the total width of the structure. The true position of the steps leading up to the Acropolis can now be fixed; namely, in the space just south of step D, already noted as being considerably lower than this step. Just what rôle was played by the triangular elevation E, by the side of step D, it is hard, in view of its present mutilated form, to determine. It may in some way have supported one of the steps. Its back line curves a trifle toward the front at the end nearest the water channel, but not enough to make it certain that the curvature continued or was at all marked. The dotted lines in this spot on PLATE VI may be regarded as the probable outlines of these steps, though there may have been three steps instead of two (cf. PLATE I). As in front of the extant anta, the steps may have been of unequal heights.

It is worthy of note that the sum of the heights of the two lower courses in the extant portion of the wall of the Propylon ($0.31 \text{ m.} + 0.27 \text{ m.}$; see PLATE III) is equal to the height of the highest step in these cuttings (F in PLATE VI). The walls, of course, had the same construction on either side of the Propylon. These two courses, then, raised the bottom of the higher *orthostates*-like course just to a level with the bottom of the step or stylobate which rested on this upper cutting.

The total width of the Propylon can now be measured, and is found to be about 11 m. Its length is about 13.5 m. The determination thus given is subject to some slight correction

because, on account of the intervening building, the measurement has to be indirect. The time at my disposal did not permit of the re-survey of the region needed to secure perfect accuracy. The variation from the truth, however, can hardly be more than five or ten centimetres.

The width being known, the remainder of the reconstruction can proceed on a sure basis. We examine first the floor. As has been seen already (p. 41), one slab of the marble flooring is extant. That all the others were of exactly the same dimensions cannot, judging from the floors of other buildings, the Propylaea, the Parthenon, etc., be presumed, yet no great difference is likely. The breadth of the extant slab, which is *in situ*, is 0.90 m. and this may be regarded as about the average width of the slabs of the floor. The distance of this slab from the side wall is 0.66 m. Applying these widths to the total interior width of the Propylon, we learn that there were nine rows of flagging (see PLATE I), with a like distance of 0.66 m. from the wall on either side. This also disposes, as will be seen later, one stone immediately before the centre of the middle intercolumniation and a joint behind each column, as is usual in Greek buildings.

The length of the extant slab of the floor is also nearly an exact divisor of the total internal length. This, however, is not so significant as the relations of the widths. It is worth noting that the extant piece of flooring is 0.03 m. lower than the zero point in PLATE VI, the point just below the eastern steps.

The width of the Propylon having been thus established, it is possible to consider the elevation, so far as data are obtainable. In most particulars, however, we are reduced to the familiar proportions of Greek buildings, and the reconstruction of the façade is largely conjectural.

In most Greek buildings the anta-breadth at the base is nearly or quite the same as the bottom diameter of the columns of the system. We may safely assume this relation to be true in the case of the Propylon. The two columns, then, for which the space between the antae gives room, must have been about 0.835 m.

in lower diameter. If the ratio of diameter to height be taken as one to five, as is reasonable for the time of the Propylon,¹ the total height of the columns would be about 4.165 m. This is found to agree with the height which the antae themselves seem to have had. The two blocks of the existing anta together are 3.515 m. in height, so that we have, in order to equal the height of the columns, room for one course of stone, or more probably marble, of the same thickness as the other courses in the parastas. This upper marble course had at its outer end the anta-capital whose shape is unknown. In the drawing of Fig. 4, the capital is modelled after that of the propylaea of Selinus, whose likeness to the present structure has been mentioned. This is, of course, purely conjectural, and this capital is very likely of too late a date to be taken into comparison. The opposite end of the block or blocks of this course must have reached the actual corner of the Propylon, which, as will be seen from PLATES I and II (cf. Fig. 4), extended about 0.25 m. past the point of contact of the parastas and the "Pelasgian" wall. Further evidence for the unusual prolongation of this course is found in the deep cutting in the adjacent boulder of the great wall (visible at the extreme left in Fig. 2). The bottom of this cutting is in line horizontally with the top of the extant anta, and must have served to support the course in question.

With one exception the remaining features of the restoration of the façade need not be discussed in detail. This one item is the arrangement of triglyphs and metopes. The example of the propylon at Selinus (see p. 68) proves that considerable freedom in the spacing of the triglyphs was regarded as admissible. In the case of that propylon, whose arrangement of antae, parastades, etc., is much the same as in our building, no triglyph came over the anta, though each of the corners and each of the columns had its regularly placed triglyph above it. The arrangement in the Propylon at Athens was more regular and happy. Each corner, each anta, and each column had a

¹ See Durm, *Handbuch der Architektur*, II, 1, p. 86.

triglyph centred above it. Besides, as in the building of Mnesicles, two triglyphs came over the middle intercolumniation, one over each of the side intercolumniations. Triglyphs and metopes were of uniform width throughout. These facts are of no small value as subsidiary evidence as to the correctness of the view heretofore stated of the Propylon's width. Under no other reasonable conditions of width would this arrangement have been possible. The distance from the corner of the Propylon now extant to the centre of the anta is, of course, fixed, and the other widths are now seen to fall into perfect

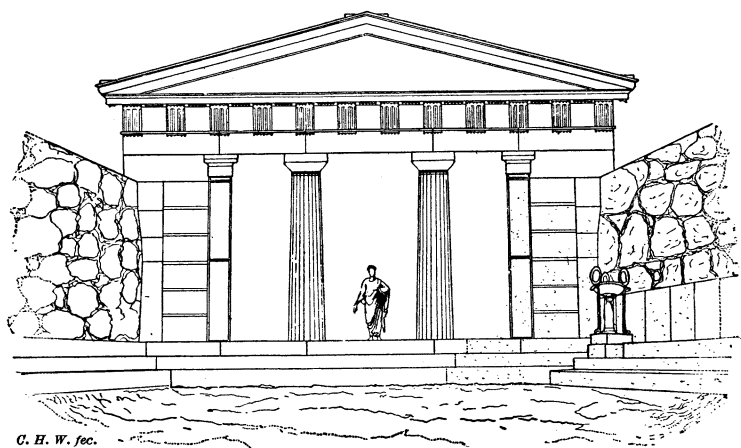


FIGURE 4. — FAÇADE OF THE PRE-PERICLEAN PROPYLON: RESTORATION.

harmony with this one. (It has not seemed necessary to give in detail the measurements of the triglyphon. The measurements given in the plans will be found sufficient for the examination of the conclusion here drawn. The inclination of the extant anta toward the column is about 0.06 m.)

No piece of columns, architrave, or pediment being extant, this part of the restoration is conjectural. Certain architrave members were found by Ross in course of excavations in the Niké bastion, and were thought by him to belong to some part of the Propylon, probably to a wing (*op. cit.* pp. 8, 16), but the scale of these members is certainly too small to allow them

to be connected with the existing anta, and there is no evidence of there having been a roof over the wing. The Ionic columns which Ross ascribed to the interior of the Propylon seem also too small (see Ross, *op. cit.* p. 82, and cf. p. 68) to have served such a purpose.

Architectural members of a larger kind and nearer to the scale of the Propylon are found in various parts of the foundation of the Propylaea, most noticeably in the northernmost extension of the foundation of the Pinacotheca. These, too, however, cannot, so far as I can discover, be brought into connection with the Propylon, and belong rather to the building of which some pieces are set up in the smaller museum of the Acropolis. I must mention also in passing what I have not seen noticed hitherto, the uniform and marked curvature of several of these cornice blocks, showing that they must have belonged to a circular or otherwise curved building. I do not know that we have record of any circular building of early date on the Acropolis, and suppose these blocks to have been conveyed from the lower city. When the anta and wall were first excavated, Ross found unmistakable signs of a red paint or stucco which covered both the *poros* and the marble. This color has mostly faded away, though there are still some traces. One or two fragments of the stucco which have been kept under cover still preserve the red undimmed. What colors were used for subsidiary decoration is unknown.

I have already noted that the façade of the Propylon forms an angle of about 122° with the "Pelasgian" wall. It is very interesting to find that precisely the same angle is made between this façade and a prolongation of a somewhat similar wall which leads up from the Beulé gate toward the centre of the Propylaea (E in PLATE I). Whatever view one holds as to the origin and original extent of this wall, the angle is, of course, indisputable. Being so, its possible connection with the Propylon is worthy of investigation. This wall was first discovered by Beulé in 1852; its course was followed throughout its whole

extent by Bohn in the excavation of 1880. The western terminus is uncertain, but there are no indications of its extent beyond the Beulé gate. That it stopped at this point is doubtful. Eastward, it certainly went as far as a well-marked cutting two or three metres above its present limit (F in PLATE I), but its bed was in general not cut in the rock, and it cannot be farther traced. Dr. Dörpfeld has suggested (*Ath. Mitth.* 1889, p. 325) that it was built in the time of Pisistratus to serve the purpose of a terrace wall, such a wall being needed because of the very rapid falling away of the Acropolis rock north of this spot. Such a date may be correct, though I am inclined to believe that the wall is older, and that it was both a terrace and a fortification wall. In consideration of the identity of angular position above mentioned, I venture to bring it more closely into connection with the Propylon, and to express the opinion that, as shown in the drawing, it originally extended as far east as that building. The width which has been given to it in the drawing is conjectural, though it is not incommensurate with other similar walls of the Acropolis, especially those near the Parthenon. That it was once wider than now is certain, since in its present form it could serve no purpose at all; only the lower courses are now preserved. The width of about three and a half metres has been assigned to it, in the belief that its southern face met the corner of the Propylon as the "Pelasgian" wall meets the opposite corner. The construction of the existing corner teaches us how necessary some such wall is, in order to produce a symmetrical effect in the Propylon's façade. The appearance of the corners is shown in Fig. 4. In this connection it is also worthy of note that the faces of the wall in question, as thus extended and with the conjectural width assigned to it, intersect the front line of the Propylaea at points where the Propylaea's foundation shows a distinct difference of structure; at the north intersection, a change is made from hewn *poros* blocks to a roughly cut limestone; at the south intersection, the first of two oblique foundation stones (cf. Bohn, *op. cit.* pl. iii), apparently belong-

ing to a previous structure, begins. At one point, just in front of the rough-hewn stone mentioned (J in PLATE I), a slight cutting in the rock may have been made in building the wall, or it may be too small to be of special significance.

The existence of this wall being posited, the peculiar orientation of the Propylon is understood. At least the "Pelasgian" wall, and, I believe, also the one just discussed, are older than the Propylon. It is certainly credible that we have in them an integral part of the old Pelargicon fortification, the apex of the angle between these walls being occupied originally by a fortress gate. Then, when the ornamental gateway was to be built, that orientation would have been chosen which was in a way fixed by these walls, and the symmetrical appearance of the façade would have been determined.

Of the small pieces of wall now buried in the Niké bastion, little need be said. Had this wall extended much farther toward the east, it would have interfered with the wing of the Propylon. For this and for other reasons it is likely that its altitude and length were not much greater in the time of the Propylon than they are now. At all events, the question does not seriously concern us.

One other relation must be noted at this point. It will be observed that if the central axis of the Propylon be prolonged toward the southwest, its extremity meets the façade of the Niké temple exactly at its middle point. This has seemed to me of sufficient interest to make it worth while to indicate the relation by a dotted line on the plan (PLATE I). Stated in another way, this means that an observer walking through the Propylon would have had the façade of the Niké temple exactly before him. I am unable to suggest any explanation of this strange relation, which may be merely accidental. The optical centre fixed by Pennethorne (*The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture*, p. 41) does not fall near the front of the Propylon.

It is altogether likely that the southwest wing of the Propylon, which is built against the great wall, had its counterpart,

as in the Propylaea, in some sort of a corresponding structure on the opposite side of the façade, against the wall there restored. The steps indicated in Fig. 4 are conjectural, and probably wrong. Whatever existed in this region is now mostly covered by the foundation of the Propylaea.

One object, however, which was situated in this space¹ can be determined with much probability; namely, the Chalcidian chariot of bronze mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias.² The passage from Herodotus reads as follows: *καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀρυστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτα ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει*,

¹ In consideration of the exigencies of space, the complexity of the problem, and the frequent treatment it has received, the discussion in this article has been made as brief as possible. Following are references to the most important literature on the subject: Kirchhoff, *Monatsbericht d. Berl. Akad.* 1869, pp. 409 f.; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 150, 547; Weizsäcker, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, 46 ff.; Bursian, *Litt. Centralblatt*, 1875, col. 1080; Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, pp. 54 f.; Michaelis, *Athen. Mitth.* 1877, pp. 95-106; Kirchhoff, *Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerke*, 2d ed. 1878, pp. 12-18; Wachsmuth, *Jahrbücher für Phil. und Päd.* 1879, pp. 18-24; Milchhöfer, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des Klass. Altertums*, 'Athen,' p. 208; Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für Phil. und Päd.* 1886, pp. 5 ff.; Kirchhoff, *Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Acad. (Berl.)*, 1887, pp. 111-114; Lolling, in Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, III, 'Topographie von Athen,' p. 343, n. 2; Lolling, *Δελτιον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, pp. 193 f.; Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, p. 12, n. 4, and p. 17, n. 3; Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 524; Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 192; Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 155, 300; Miller, *Am. J. Arch.* 1893, pp. 508 ff.; Stein, *Herodotus*, 5th ed., I, p. xxii, n. 1; Hauvette, *Hérodote*, pp. 47 ff.; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 10; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, 2d ed., p. 443; Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, pp. 352 f., V, p. 514; Iahn et Michaelis, *Arch. Athenarum*³, pp. 77 f.; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 253, n. 1.

Additional references, particularly to the inscription, are: Aristides, *Or.* 49, 2, 512, D; Anthol. Palat. VI, 343; Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴, 'Simonides,' 132; Schmidt, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1871, p. 200; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 748; Hiller, *Philologus*, 1889, p. 238; Köpp, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, V, p. 274, n. 19; Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae*, 72; Hoffman, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*, 249; Röhl, *Imagines* (1898), 83; Lolling, *Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*, I, pp. 65 f., nos. 94, 95; Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*², pp. 13 f.

² Hdt. V, 77, and Paus. I, 28, 2; also Diod. Sic. X, 24, 3, *ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὠφέλειας ἄρμα χαλκοῦν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνέθεσαν, τότε τὸ ἐλεγείον ἐπιγράψαντες· Ἔθνεα . . . ἔθεσαν.*

‘and the tithe of the ransom they dedicated, making a bronze quadriga of it; this stands on the left hand as one enters the propylaea on the acropolis.’ The passage is simple, and no one would be likely to question its interpretation were not other evidence to be brought into connection with it. But there is more than one propylaea to be considered, and Pausanias seems to have an entirely different account of the location of the chariot. In his periegesis of the Acropolis, Pausanias is returning toward the Propylaea, and has just mentioned the colossal statue of Athena, which was located about halfway between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea; after this he says (I, 28, 2): καὶ ἄρμα κείται χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν δεκάτῃ καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. This passage, then, in contrast with that of Herodotus would seem to locate the chariot east, instead of west, of the Propylaea. To reconcile these two statements has been a long-continued endeavor of scholars; and the quadriga has been by them variously located,—on the Agrippa base, on the slope westward of the Propylaea, beneath the western portico of the Propylaea, beneath the eastern portico of the Propylaea, eastward of the Propylaea, etc. But all these views overlook or disregard the possibility that Herodotus may be speaking, not of the Propylaea, but of the Propylon. The whole question, with its bearing on the life of Herodotus and the time of the composition of the latter part of his history, has been discussed by Mr. Miller in a previous number of this *Journal*, and still more conclusively since then by M. Hauvette (see note, p. 61), whose views as to the location of the quadriga seem to me substantially correct. The position of M. Hauvette is summarized by him as follows: “Hérodote n’a pas parlé en cet endroit des Propylées de Mnésiclès: l’état des choses qu’il a décrit pendant son séjour à Thuri, c’est l’état de l’Acropole avant les grands travaux de Périclès, avant la construction du Parthénon et des Propylées. Le nom de προπύλαια qu’il emploie désigne un emplacement situé en avant de la porte de l’ancienne Acropole. Plus tard, quand Mnésiclès éleva en cet endroit ses portiques, on dut déplacer le quad-

rige, et le transporter dans l'intérieur de l'enceinte, où le vit dans la suite Pausanias. Hérodote, qui habitait alors l'Italie, n'entendit pas parler de ce déplacement, ou négligea de corriger ce qu'il avait déjà écrit."¹

The inscriptional evidence of a fragment of an earlier and two fragments of a later base of the quadriga has not yet been mentioned. Of these the later, in letters of the middle of the fifth century, was found on the Acropolis in 1869; the earlier, in letters of the end of the sixth century, was found in 1887. The inscription on each base is the double elegiac distich given by Herodotus directly after the words quoted above.

The passage of Herodotus reads :

ἐπιγέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε·

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ

δεσμῶ ἐν ἀχλυνέντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβησαν ὕβριν·

τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

Strangely enough the hexameters are interchanged on the earlier base. This makes it evident that Herodotus copied the later inscription.² It may be fairly supposed that the first base was demolished at the time of the Persian invasion, and, per-

¹ With this view agree Stein (*l.c.*), Furtwängler (*l.c.*), and others.

² This inscription is *στοιχηδόν*, the two fragments having preserved for us the letters underscored and in their proper order in the following copy in type :

ΕΘΝΕΑΒΟΙΟΤΟΝΚΑΙΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΟΝΔΑΜΑΞΑΝΤΕΞΠΑΙΔΕΞΑΘ
 ΕΝΑΙΟΝΕΡΓΜΑΞΙΝΕΝΤΟΛΕΜΟ
 ΔΕΞΜΟΙΕΝΑΧΛΥΟΕΝΤΙΞΙΔΕΡΕΟΙΕΞΒΕΞΑΝΗΥΒΡΙΝΤΟΝΗΙ
 ΠΠΟΞΔΕΚΑΤΕΝΤΑΛΛΑΔΙΤΑΞΔΕΘΕΞΑΝ.

The commentators seem not to have noticed that the second line, according to the traditional text, has one letter too many at its beginning, it being certain that in the inscription the initial letter of the second line stood exactly beneath the initial letter of the first line. This peculiarity may have been caused by the accidental loss of a letter, as of the *l* of ΔΕΞΜΟΙ or ΞΙΔΕΡΕΟΙ, or by crowding. There may be, however, some unexplainable trouble in the text. The word *ἀχλυνέντι*, for example, which is found only here,

haps, was not immediately restored. Indeed, Kirchhoff has expressed the view, based on the forms of the letters, that the restoration was just after the campaign of Pericles in Euboea in 445/4; Hauvette thinks the time of the battle of Oenophyta (456) quite as likely.

The disagreement of Pausanias with the statement of Herodotus, as remarked by Hauvette, is only apparent. When the new structure of Mnesicles was to be built, it was necessary to move the quadriga from its position before the Propylon. It was accordingly conveyed to the interior of the Acropolis, where it remained until the time of Pausanias. Probably the same base was used in its new position.

The location of the chariot in the time of Herodotus being established on literary evidence, it is very suggestive that we find "on the left hand as one enters the Propylon," a series of rock cuttings of considerable extent. These are beside the modern steps ascending from the Beulé gate and immediately in front of the Propylaea (K in PLATE I). A drawing in perspective of these cuttings is given by Bohn (*op. cit.* pl. xv, fig. 9; cf. p. 17). They are only partially exposed, so that it is impossible to learn with exactness the kind of foundation for which they were designed. At least there is nothing inconsonant with the theory that the chariot stood upon them, or at least in close connection with them.¹

has been handed down with very doubtful tradition. The Mss. of Herodotus show the variants, ἀχρυσθέντι and ἀχρυσθέντι, to which Schmidt has added the conjecture, ἀλγυθέντι, and Hecker, ἀχρυσθέντι. It is manifest from the present length of the line that the longer forms are impossible; one could wish, in fact, that the word were a letter shorter.

¹ In the inscription on the later base, the average width of a letter and its adjoining space to one side is four centimetres. Since, therefore, the longer line contains seventy-one letters, the inscription must have been about 2.84 m. in length, and the side of the base which bore it not less than three metres (cf. Michaelis, *l.c.*, whose figures are somewhat too small, his measurements of the letters being made from the published form of the inscription and not from the stone).

Of the block containing the earlier inscription, we are so fortunate as to have a part of all four edges of the inscription-bearing face. This enables us to estimate that we have the fourth block of the base, there being six in all. The

One more portion of the passage in Herodotus relating to this quadriga demands our attention. In speaking of the captured Euboeans and Boeotians, Herodotus says just before the words quoted above: *τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, αἷ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμμένον.* Ross, in the article quoted above, was the first to suggest the connection of the passage with the Propylon. He understood the *μέγαρον* mentioned by Herodotus to be that of the Propylon itself, and held that the holes and broken hooks or nails still found in the existing walls are remains of the supports of the fetters. In PLATE III the location of the holes of the side wall is carefully plotted. The larger number, however, are on the inside surface of the parastas above described (p. 42), and appear clearly in the photograph (Fig. 2). Their real purpose is very uncertain, and we cannot count their presence of great weight. On surer grounds the *μέγαρον* in question is seen to be that of the "old Athena temple," near which the fetters probably hung. It is not at all necessary to bring the location of the fetters into connection with that of the chariot as seen by Herodotus, and nothing in the narrative of Herodotus compels such a view. Kirchhoff is probably correct in believing that the change made in the order of the hexameters of the inscription is due to this very separation of the chariot from the fetters, the *δεσμῶ κ.τ.λ.*, therefore, no longer introducing the epigram. The time when this occurred may have been earlier than Kirchhoff thought.

We have very few literary references to the Propylon; nothing that aids in understanding its structure. In the narrative in Herodotus about the attack upon the Acropolis and its capture by the Persians, are references to the gates by which

extant block is 0.50 m. wide, whence we find the total width of the six to be three metres, as estimated for the other base—and it is probable on general terms that the two blocks would have had about the same dimensions.

the citadel was defended. These passages are as follows : Hdt. VIII, 51, *φραζάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπίοντας*, 52, *προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν*, 53, *ἔμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὀπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου . . . ἀνέβησαν τινες*, 53, *οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευσαν*. These gates, however, cannot have been those of the Propylon (which, indeed, was probably without gates; see p. 68), but of the Pelargicon wall lower down.¹ Bare mention of the Propylon is found in an anecdote of Pisistratus, preserved for us by Aristotle and by Polyænus, as follows : Aristot. 'Αθ. Πολ. xν. 4, *ἐξοπλισίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπεχείρει . . . οὐ φασκόντων δὲ κατακουεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς προσαναβῆναι πρὸς τὸ πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἵνα γεγώνῃ μᾶλλον*. Polyænus, I, 21, 2, *Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὄπλα βουλόμενος παρελῆσθαι, παρήγγειλεν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων. οἱ μὲν ἦκον . . . προελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίωσαν εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον*. It is worth noting that both writers have the singular (but Herodotus, *l.c.*, has the more usual plural) for the name of the Propylon, "apparently used on purpose to avoid the grander *προπύλαια*, which would have been an anachronism in so far as it would have suggested the Propylæa of the time of Pericles." (Sandys, note on Aristotle, *l.c.*) Other than these, I am unable to find sure references to the building.

We learn from the passages just cited that the Acropolis certainly had a Propylon before the time of the Persian wars, as we should have anticipated; that we have before us the ruins of this building seems almost certain. Ross already noticed on the side wall signs of destruction by fire. The marble, in fact, still shows clear evidence of calcination. That the building was burned by the Persians is a natural infer-

¹ The order of the words *τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου* seem to indicate this. Furthermore, the Propylon, like the Propylæa (cf. Bohn, *op. cit.* p. 4), was not meant and could not have served as a work of defence; nor is it thinkable that the defenders would have allowed their assailants to approach so near the summit before offering resistance.

ence, and if, as we have seen reason to believe (p. 39), the superstructure was of wood,—as no doubt the roof was also,—such burning is easy to explain. Furthermore, the use of Γ shaped cramps in the construction compels us to set the date before the fifth century.¹ It cannot be properly objected that these cramps are in the wing and not in the main structure. In the first place, the existence of the wing presupposes the existence of a central building of the same or of earlier date; in the second place, the priority of the construction of the anta to that of the wing is obvious from the blending and interlocking of the steps of the wing with those of the Propylon, no less than from the fact that one of the slabs of the wing actually runs under the corner of the parastas. The character of the material employed and the quality of the workmanship have led many to place the Propylon in the time of Cimon. This argument, however, proceeds largely on assumption. We have few of the buildings of Pisistratus's time left us, but it is quite sure that he may have used such material and in such a manner as is here used.² There are some signs, however, of a restoration. The irregularity of the point of juncture of the parastas and the side wall has been observed already (p. 40). A drawing of this joint is given here on a larger scale. It may well be that the worked edge at A is the remains of an earlier union with thicker blocks in the parastas or with blocks differently placed. Evidence for a later arrangement of the marble bench by the side wall has also been mentioned. Very likely a restoration was made after the retirement of the Persians; perhaps later changes were made by Themistocles or Cimon.



¹ Dörpfeld, Curtius, und Adler. *Olympia, Text*, II, p. 43, "die Γ förmigen Klammern zwar in Athen in 5. Jahrhundert nicht vorzukommen scheinen." Cf. Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.* p. 254.

² Bohn, *op. cit.* p. 3, "Ein Herrscher (Pisistratus) der so viel für den Schmuck der Stadt getan wird auch für eine Künstlerische Ausbildung des fortifikatorischen Burgaufganges Sorge getragen haben."

Mention has already been made of the relation to this building of the Propylon before the Megaron of Demeter at Selinus (pp. 50, 56). Of this, Koldewey and Puchstein, in *Die Griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* (pp. 82 f., pl. ii), say, "Es ist ein breiter, saalartiger Raum, der in eigentümlicher Weise nach O. und W. durch zwei Säulen zwischen Anten (oder genauer gesprochen, zwischen Antepagmenten) geöffnet ist, im Osten etwas weiter als im Westen." A comparison of the two buildings reveals many points of resemblance which will not be discussed here in detail. The flight of steps in front, the higher stylobate in the rear, the two columns between "Antepagmenten" and the triglyphon, are very similar, and suggest some connection with the type of building at Athens. It is from a comparison with this structure that I refrain from assuming the insertion of doors or interior columns for the Propylon, there being no direct evidence to guide us in this particular. The Propylon at Selinus, however, is of the fourth century, and the omission of doors (it had iron gratings between columns and antae) may be, after all, a late local peculiarity. The Propylon at Athens is larger (that at Selinus is 8.70 m. by 8.30 m.) and may have required central support for the roof.¹

To the period of the Propylon or earlier we must assign the origin of the road, of which the familiar markings remain at the foot of the Niké bastion. This, too, was discovered by Beulé, who thought that its course had been past the Agrippa pedestal, then turning toward the old gateway. "Le chemin semble avoir passé," he says (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 45), "sous l'angle sud-ouest du soubassement du temple de la Victoire. Il monte dans la direction du piédestal d'Agrippa," etc.

¹ The much earlier propyla at Tiryns had central doorways, — in the outer, however, a somewhat later addition. The propylaea at Sunium, of almost the same dimensions as our Propylon, had central doorways. Curtius holds (*Stadtgeschichte*, p. 68) that the Propylon must have had a gate, "denn die Anakentisitze pflegten alle zu Wagen und Ross zugänglich zu sein," and says it is explicitly said that Pisistratus went up by wagon to the Acropolis.

The drawing of PLATE I shows the holes of this path, as replotted and remeasured. (After bending, they pass farther to the south than Bohn indicates.) The course of the extant portion makes it evident that Beulé (cf. Michaelis, *Ath. Mitth.* 1876, pp. 275 ff.) was wrong in thinking that this road ran past the Agrippa pedestal. It is seen to turn toward the east as soon as it rounds the Niké bastion, and to disappear under the modern steps, as, in fact, the adjacent wall to the north made necessary. When the modern steps of Desbuisson are removed, as they should be without delay, it will probably be possible — though the last of the holes of the path are fainter and may not have a distinct continuation — to trace the road farther toward the entrance of the Propylon,¹ whose existence, however, it may antedate by many years.

What has already been said makes it evident also that the path cannot be of mediaeval origin, since the mediaeval road, as well as that of the time of the Propylaea, passed by the Agrippa pedestal. Furthermore, the drawings of Stuart and Revett (II, p. v; ch. V, pl. i) make it very probable, if not certain, that this area was covered with earth during their time, as with little doubt it had been for many years before them.² Finally, we are informed positively on this point by Beulé (*op. cit.* p. 44) that the road in question was, when he began to excavate there, buried with sand and débris, on which rested a later road, “près de la porte construite au moyen âge,” and “grossièrement pavé.” “J’ai fait,” he continues, “enlever ce pavage, enlever le sable et les débris sur lesquels il reposait, et l’on a vu reparaitre le rocher de l’Acropole avec ses traces vieilles de trois mille ans.” This would seem to exclude definitively any belief in the road’s late origin.

In this connection mention should be made of the distinct traces of six steps situated at the side of the cuttings where we have seen reason for placing the Chalcidian quadriga. They

¹ Bohn, *op. cit.* p. 15. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* 1880, pp. 309 ff.

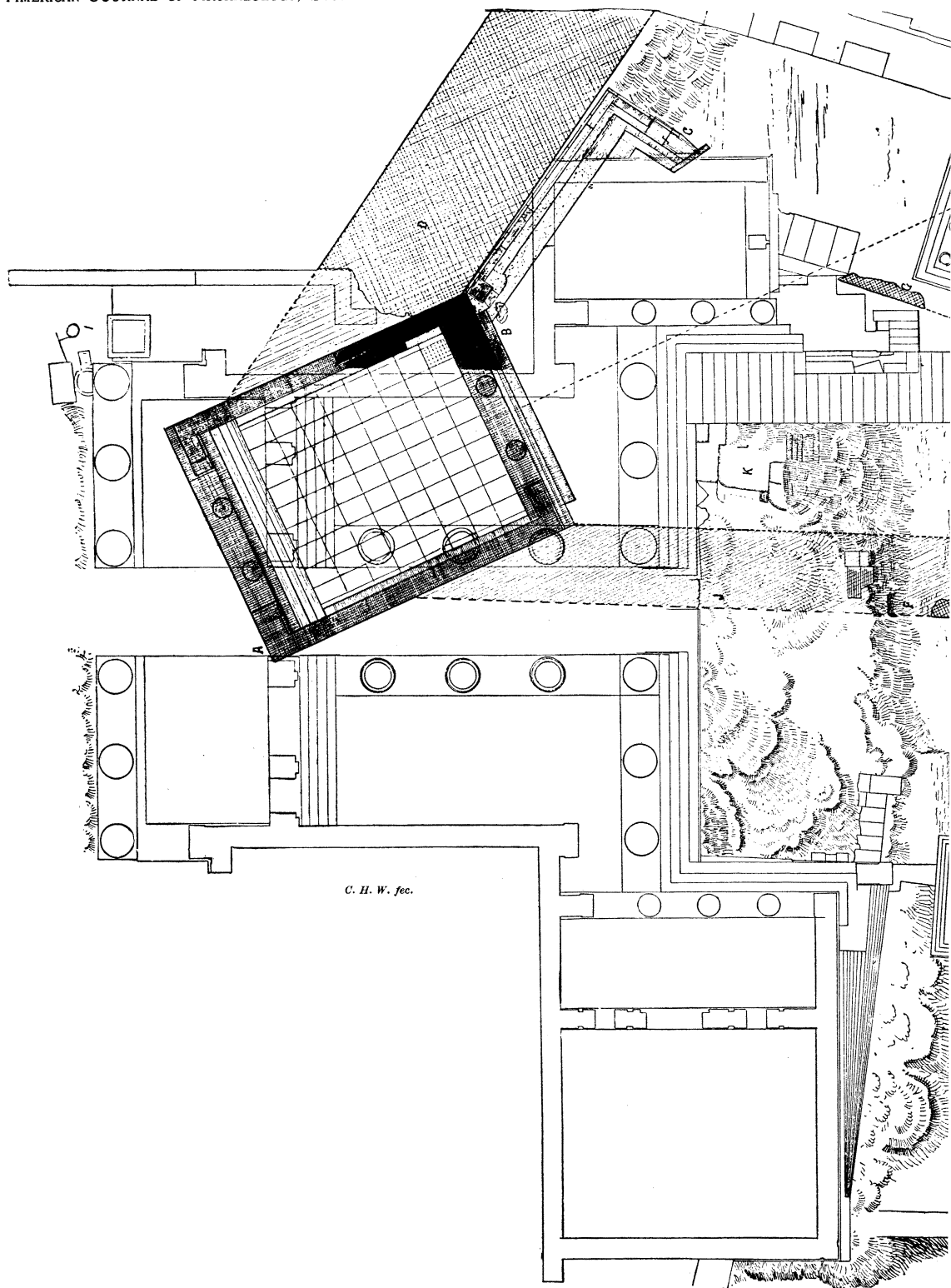
² Cf. Guhl and Koner, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, 6th ed. p. 110.

are evidently the remains of some early ascent near the road just discussed.

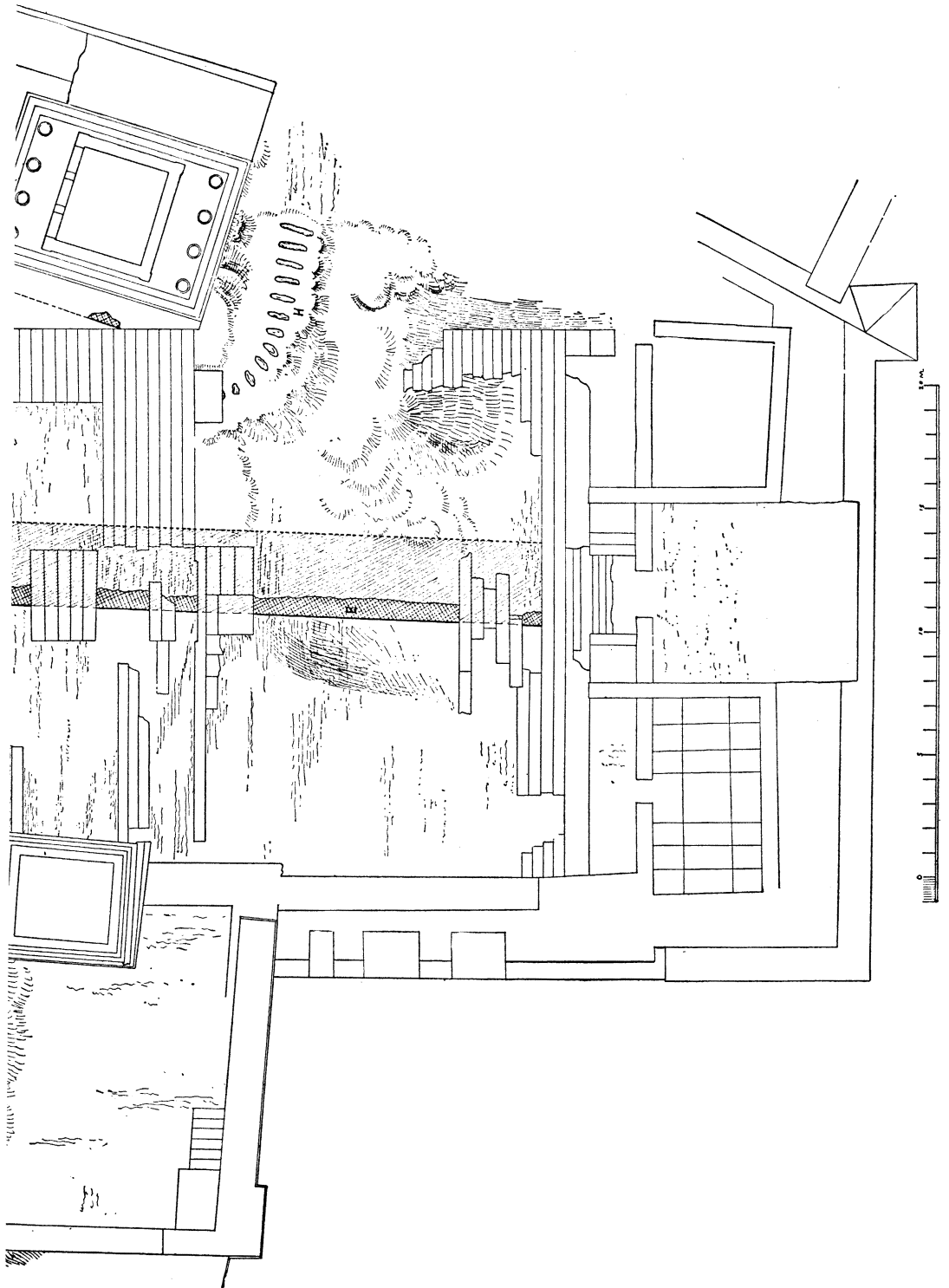
Repeated examination of the "road" running eastward toward the Erechtheum from near the east portico of the Propylaea (cf. Michaelis, *op. cit.* pp. 278 f., pl. xv) leads me to the belief that it was not a road at all and that it has nothing to do with the Propylon. Not only are other such roads unknown on the Acropolis, but at the western end of the cutting in question a ridge of rock juts out into it in such a way as to preclude the belief that this "road" continued farther.

CHARLES HEALD WELLER.

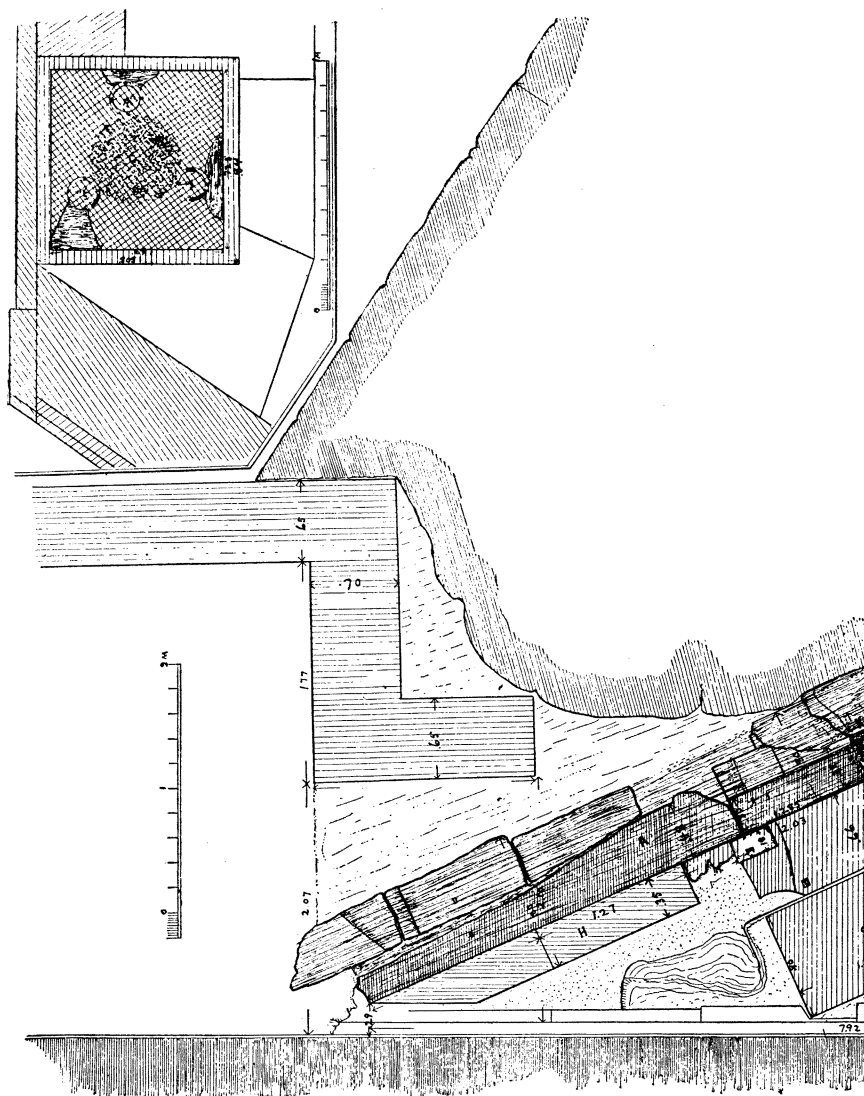
NEW HAVEN.



PRE-PERICLEAN PROPYLON OF THE ACR

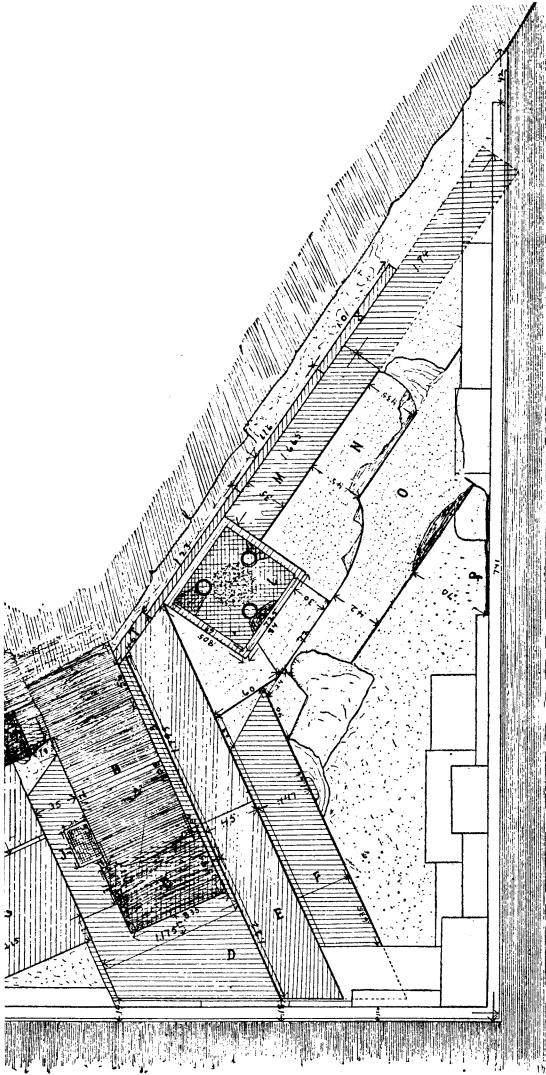


OPOLIS AT ATHENS: GENERAL PLAN

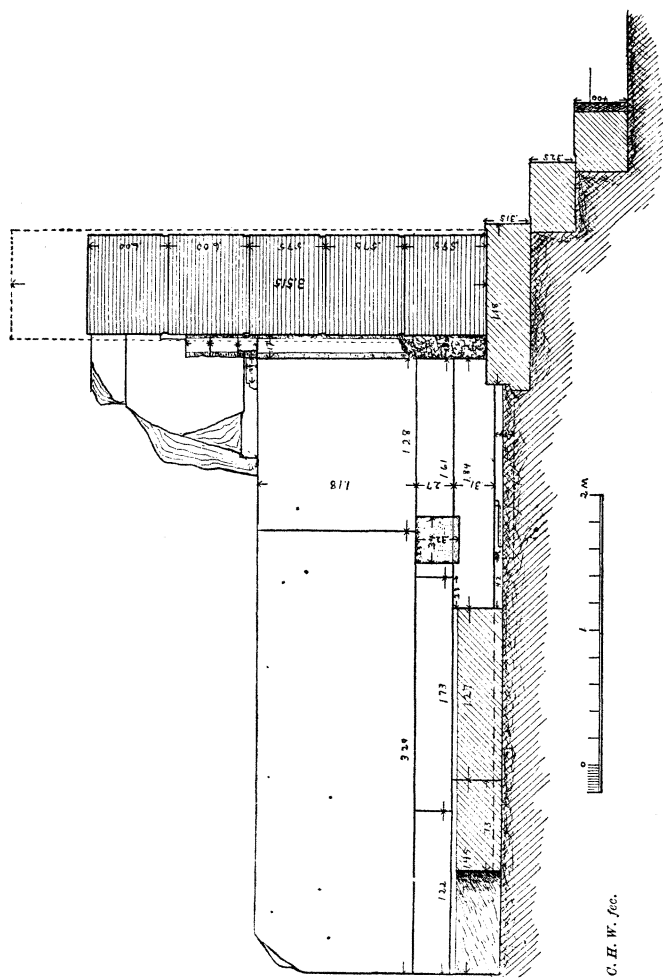


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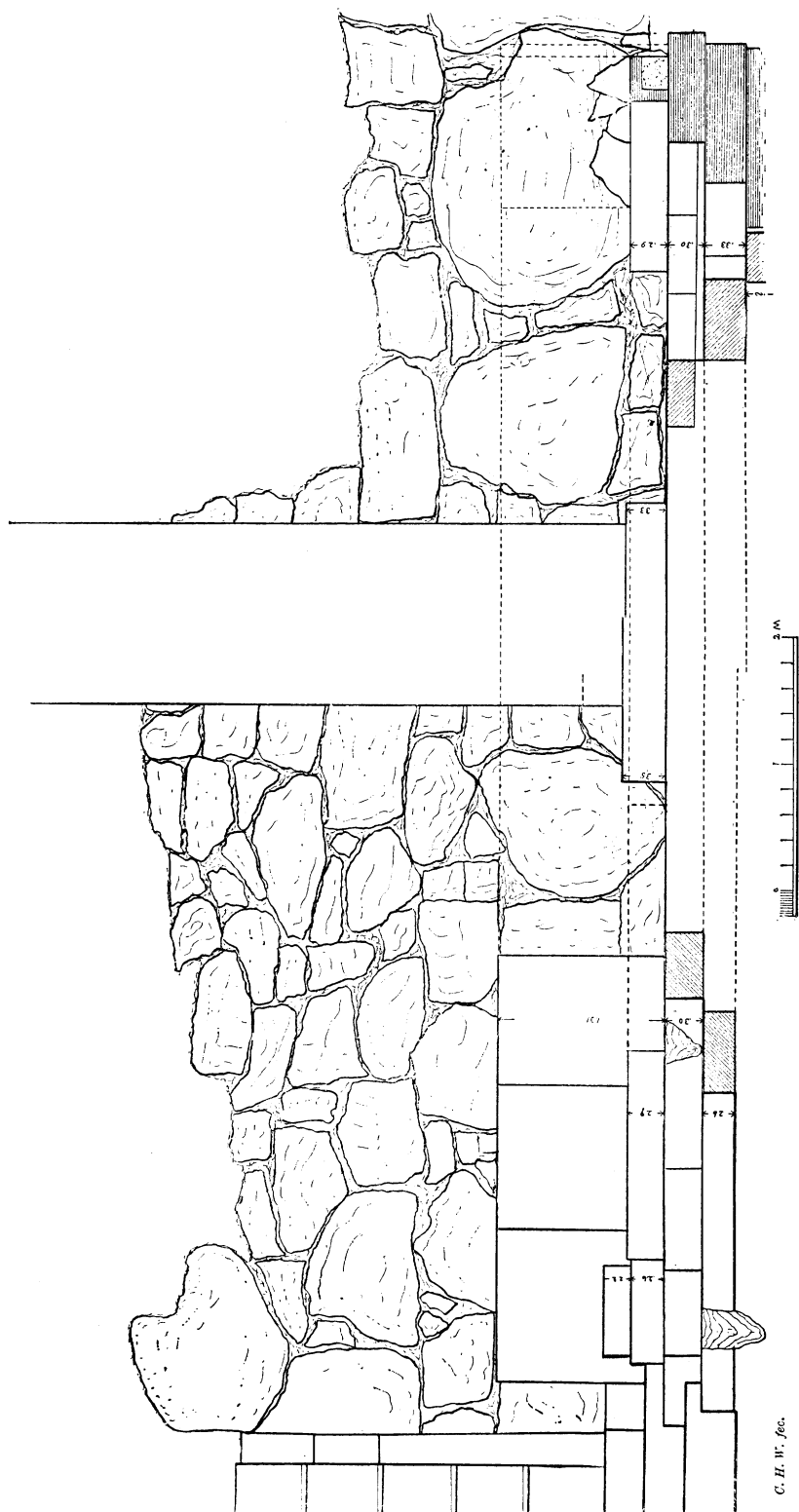
PLAN OF THE EXTANT CORNER OF THE PROPYLON BEHIND THE



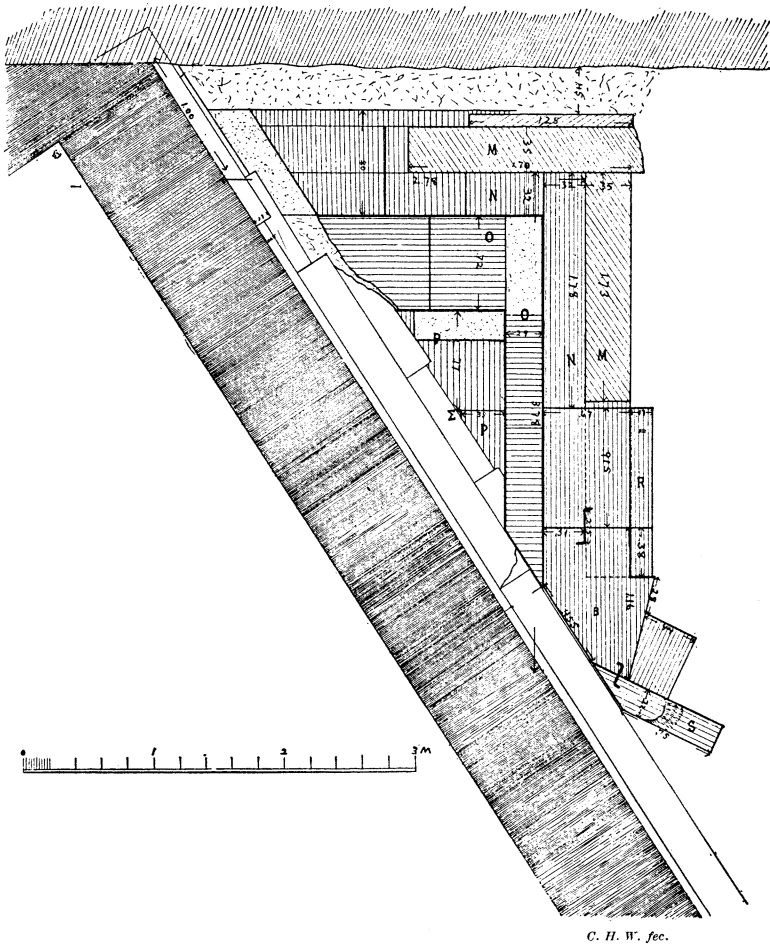
SOUTHWEST WING OF THE PROPYLAEA



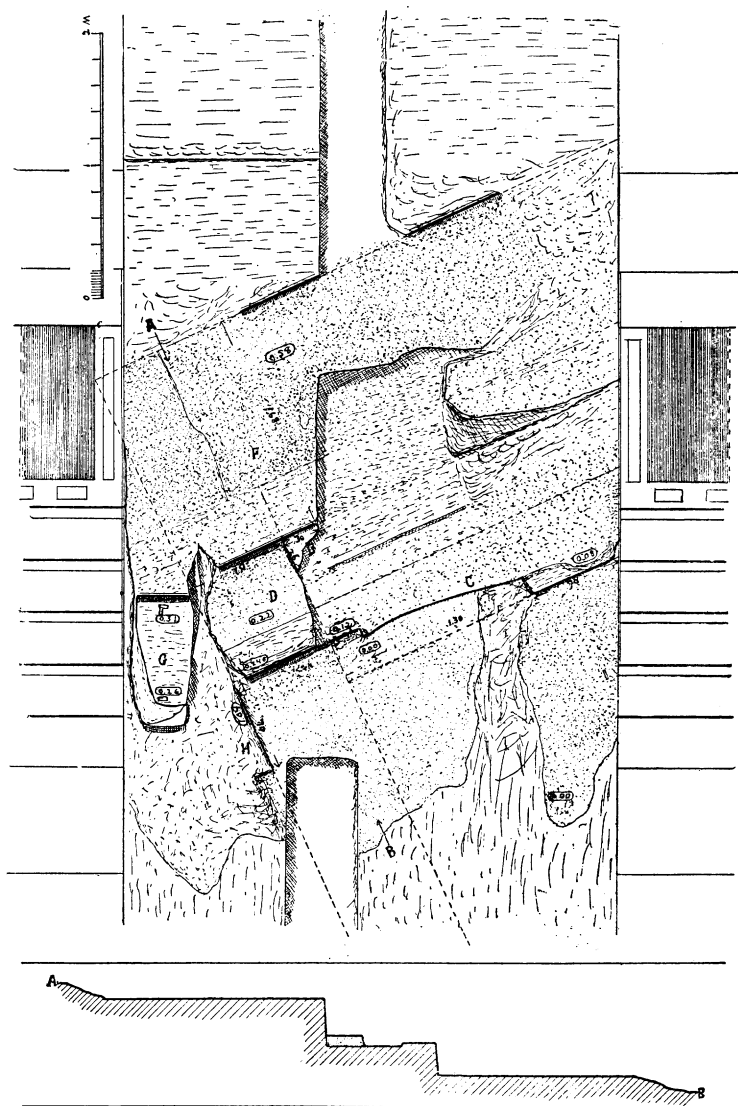
SECTION THROUGH PARASTAS AND STEPS, SHOWING THE FACE OF THE SIDE WALL



SOUTHERN WING OF THE PROPYLON BEFORE THE "PELASGIAN" WALL: STEPS IN SECTION



END OF THE SOUTHERN WING OF THE PROPYLON



U. H. W. fec.

CUTTINGS IN THE ROCK IN THE GREAT DOORWAY OF THE
PROPYLAEA: BELOW, A VERTICAL SECTION